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Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-10 AID-05 SAM-01 /081 W
---------- 118854
R 250940Z SEP 75
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9612
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY KINSYASA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
RUDTCAMEMBASSY LONDON 2682
AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES
RUEHCRXAMCONSUL LUANDA 267
AMAMBASSY LUSAKA 2543
GUQMNI/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 6197
AMEMBASSY PARIS
LRUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 676

AMCONSUL ZANZIBAR

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 4429

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, TZ, AO
SUBJECT: TANZANIA AGAIN BACKING MPLA

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 921, 968, AND 2104

1. SUMMARY: TANZANIA APPEARS TO HAVE REVERTED TO GIVING FULL SUPPORT TO MPLA IN ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR, AFTER PERIOD IN WHICH IT CONDEMNED ALL THREE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS FOR ANGOLAN UNREST AND LOOKED TO SAVIMBI AS POSSIBLE RESTORER OF UNITY. THIS SHIFT BACK TO MPLA IS REFLECTED BOTH IN VIEWS EXPRESSED AT FOREIGN MINISTRY AND IN GOVERNMENT-DOMINATED PRESS. END SUMMARY.
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2. DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AND MIDDLE EAST DIVISION IN TANZANIAN FOREIGN OFFICE, MWASAKAFYUKA, TOLD EMBOFF SEPT. 20 THAT MPLA SEEMED TO BE WINNING THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR, AND WITH PROSPECTS DIM FOR NEGOTIATING ANY UNITY BETWEEN THREE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS THERE SEMED LITTLE ALTERNATIVE TO ACCEPTING THE SITUATION AND LETTING THE STRONGEST MOVEMENT WIN. HE THOUGHT IT LIKELY THAT UNITA'SISAVIMBI WOULD SEE THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL AND COME TO AN ACCOMMODATION WITH MPLA, SINCE IT IS WEAK AND HAS NO REAL ALTERNATIVE. IT IS HARDER TO PREDICT WHAT FNLA WILL DO, SINCE ITS MOTIVES ARE UNCERTAIN: IS IT SEEKING TO HAVE NORTHERN ANGOLA SECEDE, OR EVEN BE ANNEXED BY ZAIRE, HE ASKED.

3. MWASAKAFYUKA SAID ALTERNATIVES TO LETTING MPLA WIN WERE ALL IMPRACTICABLE. OAU COULD HARDLY INTERVENE SO LONG AS MOBUTU IS OPENLY BACKING FNLA. PORTUGUESE INTERVENTION WOULD AMOUNT TO RE-IMPOSING COLONIALISM AT THE "REQUEST" OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. UN INTERVENTION WOULD RAISE THE SPECTRE OF GREAT POWER INTERVENTION AND THE POSSIBILITY OF ANOTHER SOUTH KOREA (SUC) OR KATANGA. HEADS OF STATE AT THE LUSAKA SUMMIT ON SEPT. 13-14 HAD AGREED, MWASAKAFYUKA SAID, THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING WAS TO ENSURE THAT THE NOVEMBER 11 INDEPENDENCE DEADLINE IS NOT EXTENDED.

4. TANZANIAN OFFICIAL PRESS LASHED OUT AT THE WEST, EDITORIALLY, ON SEPT. 22, BLAMING IT FOR ALL THE UNREST IN ANGOLA AND BACKING MPGA AS ONLY AUTHENTIC LIBERATIOM MOVEMENT. GOVERNMENT-RUN DAILY NEWS ACCUSED "WESTERN POWERS" WHICH HAD OPPOSED ANGOLAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE BEFORE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION OF NOW

MOUNTING "A FULL-SCALE CAMPAIGN...TO SHIP LARGE QUANTITIES OF ARMS TO ANGOLA" IN ORDER TO CREATE "TOTAL CHAOS IN A SITUATION WHERE BROTHER BUTCHERS BROTHER, WHILE THESE POWERS CONTINUE TO EXPLOIT THE COUNTRY."

5. TANU PARTY SWAHILI-LANGUAGE DAILY UHURU WAS EVEN MORE EXPLICIT. IT REFERRED TO UNITA AND FLNA AS "TRAITOR PARTIES" WHICH HAD NEVER FOUGHT THE PORTUGUESE AND PAD HAD NO FOLLOWERS OR WEAPONS WHILE MPLA WAS LEADING ANGOLAN PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGAL. THE ONLY REASON FOR THE PRESENT CIVIL WAR, UHURU SAID, IS THE "ATTEMPT OF WORLD CONFIDENTIAL

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IMPERIALISM TO PREVENT THE PEOPLE FROM SUCCESSFULLY TAKING FULL POWER IN THEIR COUNTRY". EDITORIAL GOES ON TO SAY THAT "FNLA FOR EXAMPLE IS RECEIVING WEAPONS FROM THE COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICAN... THE BLOOD WHICH CONTINUES TO FLOW IN ANGOLA IS CAUSED BY THESE WEAPONS."

6. COMMENT: FROM LAST APRIL OR SO UNTIL THE NAKURU CONFERENCE IN JUNE, TANZANIA SEEMED TO HAVE MODERATED ITS OLD POSITION OF

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BACKING ONLY MPLA, AND WAS TAKING MORE EVEN-HANDED STANCE AND EVEN GIVING ESPECIAL ENCOURAGEMENT TO SAVIMBI AS POTENTIAL PEACE-MAKER. NOW TANZANIA SEEMS TO HAVE ABANDONDENED SAVIMBI AND RETURNED TO ITS OLD PRO-MPLA POSITION. TANZENIA HAS ALWAYS BEEN IDEOLOGICALLY SYMPATHETIC TO MPLA AS AN OPENLY SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. THIS SYMPATHY WAS TO SOME EXTENT REDUCED BY FEAR OF ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR AND IMPATIENCE WITH AGOSTINHO NETO'S INTRANSIGENT REFUSAL TO COOPERATE WITH ANYBODY ELSE. NOW THAT--IN TANZANIAN EYES, ANYWAY--MPLA SEEMS TO BE WINNING OUT ON THE BATTLEFIELD,TANZANIA CAN AFFORD TO RETURN TO ITS OLDER LOYALTY.

7. IN THIS THE INFLUENCE ON TANZANIA OF SAMORA MACHEL, WHO HAS STRONGLY BACKED MPLA FOR IDEOLOGICAL REASONS, MAY ALSO PLAY A PART. MACHEL SUCCESSFULLY INDUCED PORTUGAL TO GRANT HIS MOVE-MENT FULL POWER IN MOZAMBIQUE WITHOUT BENEFIT OF ELECTIONS OR ANY CONSIDERATION OF OPPOSING GROUPS, AND HE MAY BE PRESUMED TO FAVOR A SIMILAR "TURNKEY" DELIVERY OF ANGOLA TO MPLA AS "ONLY LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF PEOPLE." PERHAPS THE ONLY REAL SURPRISE IS HOW LONG IT HAS TAKEN THE TANZANIANS TO RETURN TO TMEIR ACCUSTOMED PLACE--IN FULL SUPPORT OF THE MOST RADICAL ELEMENT IN AN AFRICAN EQUATION.
CARTER

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